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SEAMEO Project in Archaeology
and Fine Arts

SPAFA FINAL REPORT

CONSULTATIVE WORKSHOP ON
RESEARCH ON MARITIME SHIPPING
AND TRADE NETWORKS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
(I-W7)

Cisarua, West Java, Indonesia
November 20-27, 1984



Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization

SEAMEO PROJECT IN ARCHAEOLOGY AND FINE ARTS

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THAILAND

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I. PROCEEDINGS

The SPAFA Consultative Workshop on Research on Maritime Shipping and Trade Networks in Southeast Asia was held in Indonesia at three venues: in Jakarta on November 20, 1984; in Cisarua, Bogor from November 21-to 23, 1984; and in Banten area from November 24 to 26, 1984.

The Workshop was attended by participants from Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand, consultants and observers from Indonesia, the Philippines, Great Britain, Australia, France and Thailand. The list of participants is in Appendix 2a.

1. Opening Ceremony

The SPAFA Consultative Workshop on Research on Maritime Shipping and Trade Networks in Southeast Asia was officially opened by the Director General of Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture, Prof. Dr. Haryati Soebadio, on November 20, 1984 at the National Research Centre of Archaeology. In her address she stated that research on maritime aspects of our various countries has not been too much worked upon especially by our native scholars. Further she said that there is still much work to be done by research workers for years and years to come in the field of maritime trade.

A report and speeches were delivered by Dr. Hasan M. Ambary, the Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Prof. Dr. R. P. Soejono, Director of the SPAFA Sub-Centre for Archaeological Research and Dr. Rosa C. P. Tenazas, Assistant Co-ordinator of SPAFA.

In his report, Dr. Hasan M. Ambary stated that the Workshop will discuss matters concerning methodology, bibliographical study, nautical sources, environment, technology and commodity products.

Prof. Dr. R. P. Soejono, in his speech said that maritime routes have existed since prehistory. It is possible that in the classical period the same routes were used and when Islamic principalities emerged, European travellers used the same old routes again. Evidence of early contacts between Indonesia and mainland Southeast Asia is apparent from similarities in shape of ancient stone tools and later on of metal objects.

In her welcoming speech, Dr. Rosa C. P. Tenazas, Assistant Co-ordinator of SPAFA, stated that SPAFA activities do not only have continuity but they also are so interrelated that an activity dealing on say, studies on surviving archaeological artifacts such as trade ceramics, necessarily must deal with factors that touch on political and commercial

developments elsewhere leading to the proliferation of entrepôts and the rise of maritime kingdoms in this part of the world over the centuries. As a corollary to all these the understanding not only of movements but also of the origins of the ships or the carriers and the peoples manning these which made for a dynamic trade network from prehistoric to historic time is crucial.

Texts of speeches are given in Appendix 3a-d.

2. Business Sessions

SESSION 1

Tuesday, November 20, 1984

National Research Centre of Archaeology, Jakarta

A. Election of Officers of the Workshop

Participants elected the officers of the Workshop as follows:

Chairman	:	Dr. Hasan M. Ambary of Indonesia
Vice Chairman	:	Asst. Prof. Dr. Suebsang Promboon of Thailand
Rapporteur General	:	Mr. Wilfredo P. Ronquillo of the Philippines
Asst. Rapporteur General	:	Mr. Vidya Intakosai of Thailand

B. Adoption of the Tentative Agenda and Programme

The Tentative Agenda and Programme were adopted. They are given in Appendix 1.

C. Overview of the Consultative Workshop on Research on Maritime Shipping and Trade Networks in Southeast Asia

Dr. Rosa C. P. Tenazas reported on the Research Programme on Early Maritime Shipping and Trade Networks in Southeast Asia from ca. 500 B.C. to ca. 1800 A.D. which was formulated at the Kuching Workshop 3 years ago. The rationale of this project is that there is a need to meet and compare notes on researches already initiated in connection with trading movements of peoples and trade goods ca. 500 B.C. to ca. 1800 A.D., especially in connection with the rise of maritime kingdoms and trading powers both within Southeast Asia and in neighboring areas. Further she reported that this project had 11 objectives. The rationale, objectives and methodology of this Workshop is in Appendix 7.

SESSION 2
Wednesday, November 21, 1984
Grand Park Hotel, Cisarua, Bogor

A. Country Report

THAILAND

The Thai Country Report consisted of three papers prepared by the members of the delegation, Assoc. Prof. Chusiri Chamoraman, Asst. Prof. Dr. Suebsang Promboon and Mr. Vidya Intakosai.

Assoc. Prof. Chusiri Chamoraman's paper is entitled "Notes on Some of the Place-Names in Peninsular Thailand during the 12th-14th Centuries A.D.".

The paper summarizes the historical and archaeological evidences of the existence of trans-shipping routes, ports and other trading areas in peninsular Thailand. The author also utilized aerial photographs to locate the possible sites and to plot the changes of the topography through time. Among the place-names which recur in the texts and where archaeological evidence were found are:

1. Takua Pa also known as Takola, or Trang. Takua Pa was an ancient trans-peninsular route which was used for hundreds of years and up till the present time.
2. Junkceylon (also known as Junculan, Junsaloon, Jonsalam) appeared in the Kedah Annals. This is an island with good harbours which served as port of call for foreign ships.
3. Pattani, a port on the east coast facing the South China sea which was known long before the Sukhothai period. Pattani was one of those listed as one of the places governed by Sukhothai.
4. Songkhla, its actual site in ancient times is still uncertain. Archaeological evidence from the present site of Songkhla point to the Ayutthaya period. However, at Sathing Phra the site of an ancient city was found, and at Ronote near the sea, Chinese and Thai ceramics datable to the 12th-early 15th centuries were found. Songkhla was one of the city states governed by Nakhon Si Thammarat which was under Sukhothai. During the later centuries, Portuguese, English and Dutch traders requested Thai monarchs to use Songkhla as a port and as a place for their factories.
5. Nakhon Si Thammarat or Ligor also known as Tambralinga (Sanskrit) or Tanmaling (Chinese) was believed to have been a strong power in central part of the peninsula until it was raided by the Cholas in 1026. Nakhon Si Thammarat was a cultural centre of Brahmanism and Buddhism as was described in detail by Chau Ju-kua.

6. Phatthalung was once a seaport. Known as Fo-lo-an in Chau Ju-kua's Chu-fan-Chih. Archaeological finds in the area were Chinese stonewares, Sawankhalok ceramics together with wood planks. Inhabitants of Phatthalung today bear features of Arabs or Persians. Phatthalung was also mentioned as one of the city states under Sukhothai governor through Nakhon Si Thammarat.

7. Surat Thani could correspond to the ancient name of Garahi and to the town of Chaiya. Surat Thani is in the main land route from Takua Pa to the Bay of Bandon. Excavations at Laem Po near Surat Thani yielded ceramics, brown glasses, beads and local and imported goods. Most of the finds were datable prior to the Sukhothai period, evidence of prosperous trading centre.

8. Chumphon was also mentioned as one of the 12 city states under Sukhothai. The area today is much more inland but there is evidence of an ancient pagoda at Sawee District.

9. Kui and Pran Districts in Prachuap Khiri Khan province served as trans-peninsular route which began from Tenasserim across the hills to the sea coast at Phetchaburi. Phetchaburi was mentioned in Yuan Chronicle. Ramkamhaeng himself was said to have stationed himself at Phetchaburi to trade with the Chinese.

As a consequence of active trade during the Sukhothai period, Thai power spread to other territories such as Laos.

Some of the discussions dealt with the importance of utilizing Burmese chronicles and other historical documents which might reveal more information on the early history of Peninsular Thailand. Burmese sources could be used to corroborate other historical accounts which have been made available by other scholars. The importance of studying changes of the topography of the land was also brought up since ecological changes would have affected the location of ancient ports, harbours, towns, overland routes, waterways and settlements. The changes in the historical references to the ports and cities on the peninsula may be explained by such ecological changes. There is also need to integrate the evidence from different sources - historical, archaeological, and ecological to draw a more coherent view of the history of the Peninsula as far as trade networks are concerned.

Dr. Anthony Reid asked about the evidence for tin exportation during this period and the reply was that there are no archaeological evidence for this at the present time although for later periods archaeological evidences are available.

The text of Assoc. Prof. Chusiri's paper is in Appendix 4e.

The second Thai Country Report was given by Asst. Prof. Dr. Suebsang Promboon entitled "The Siamese Maritime Trade A.D. 1351-1511".

The founding of Ayutthaya in 1351 was marked by an aggressive commercial policy of its first king Ramathibodi I. Ayutthaya's strategic location along the inland waterways with easy access to the sea, plus its successful military, diplomatic and social organization all contributed to making the city a strong commercial centre with trading links in Asia and other parts of the world.

The paper presents the stages in the development of strong Siamese commercial activities.

The first period was from the 13th-mid 14th centuries. This period saw Mongol policy of encouraging overseas trade, Thai military expansion at the expense of Cambodia and Champa in the East, and the domination over Tavoy, Tenasserim and Martaban in the west.

The rapid expansion of trade by the first millennium A.D. showed the rise of emporia in Southeast Asia of which Srivijaya was the classic example of a trading emporium. But Ligor on Peninsular Thailand began to rival Srivijaya although China played the dominant position in the trade in and with Southeast Asia. Ligor and other port cities on Peninsular Thailand played an important role as entrepot between India and the Arab countries in the West, and China to the Northeast. Hence, the importance of Peninsular Thailand in international and regional trade necessitates closer investigation of this area to establish the extent and nature of its trade links.

The breakdown of Srivijaya led to reducing its former ports to piratical hideouts which compelled other traders especially the Achenese to avoid sailing through the Malay Straits. Alternate routes to reach the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siam were sought across the narrow isthmus of the Malay Peninsula. Javanese traders visited Javanese ports. Traders from West Asia came either to Mergui and Tenasserim or the Northern Sumatra avoiding the risks of sailing through the Malay Straits.

Upon the assumption of Ming Dynasty 1368 A.D. the court adopted a policy of restricting but restored the tributary trade. Under the guise of tributary missions, the Siamese intensified their trading activities with Ming China sending 78 missions from 1351-1511. Despite Ming court restrictions, the Siamese intensified trade. Among the "tributes" the Siamese brought to China, were: blackpepper, sapanwood, lakawood and other aromatics for which they received silk, satin, etc.

The second phase 1400-1435. Siamese tributary trade continued under the Chinese court's favorable policy for trade. Siamese traders as in the previous period were well treated by the Chinese court.

The third phase saw continuous expansion of Siamese trade in Southeast Asia. Trade transactions had several categories: "transit trade" and "middle-man trade", "local products trade" and "foreign products trade".

Trade in the latter half of the 14th century to the 15th-16th century. This period saw increase of direct trade independent of tributary trade, acquiescence of the Ming court of direct trade culminates with Cheng-Ho's voyages in 1413. Siam's profitable trade dealings with China is a major factor for Ayutthaya's ascendancy, prosperity and territorial expansion.

To the question raised regarding Thai accounts and how these could throw light on the events on the peninsula, Dr. Suebsang said that Thai accounts mostly deal with tributary trade to China and very little, if at all, was said about internal and regional trade.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Suebsang Promboon's paper is in Appendix 4f.

SESSION 3

Wednesday, November 21, 1984
Grand Park Hotel, Cisarua, Bogor

A. Country Report

THAILAND (Cont'd)

Mr. Vidya Intakosai presented the third Thai Country Report. Mr. Vidya Intakosai reported that underwater archaeology was practised in 1977 in conjunction with researches in Thai Maritime History. The first underwater archaeological investigation was undertaken in 1974 with the salvage of a wrecksite near Ko Kram in the Gulf of Thailand. The Royal Thai Navy and the Danish Government cooperated in this venture.

During SPAFA's First Development Plan (1977-1981) the east coast of Thailand from Chon Buri to Trat Provinces were covered in the surveys while in the Second Development Plan (1981-1986) the Underwater Archaeological Project covered a larger area including the eastern seaboard area of Southern Thailand. There were eight sites covered by Mr. Vidya's report namely: Ko Kram, Ko Kradad in Trat Province, Samae San, Prasae, Ko Talu, Rang Kwian, Samed-Ngam and Ko Samui.

Of these sites, that of Kram has a carbon-dating of 390-335 B.P. \pm 90 years, indicating that the ship sank between 1460 and 1625.

The excavation of Rang Kwian, conducted for 20 months, yielded a great number of archaeological finds inspite of the fact that rampant looting had prevailed in the area. The Rang Kwian wreck revealed that ancient Southeast Asian ships carried cargo below the main deck. The crew's quarters were located on the main deck together with the storage for water and food supply and a place for domestic animals.

In general, the archaeological artifacts yielded from these eight wrecks consisted of ceramics objects from plates to jars, earthenware vessels, gold ornaments and coins.

Many underwater sites in Thailand resulted from accidental discoveries by fishermen.

During the discussion that followed Dr. Pierre-Yves Manguin recommended the survey of estuaries and riverine sites, as a complement to the underwater maritime sites. Most of the shipwrecks found in Indonesia so far were found in such sites, and these can be much cheaper and easier to excavate.

Mr. Vidya informed on the problem of personnel availability with regards to river sites in Thailand.

Dr. Anthony Reid wanted to be clarified whether the shipwrecks discovered were outbound or inbound vessels to which Mr. Jeremy Green explained that the presence of ballasts at wreck sites generally do not indicate whether these shipwrecks were originally outbound or inbound ships.

Dr. Jesus T. Peralta commented on the appearance of specific types of earthenware in Southeast Asian archaeological sites; concave lids, specifically and types of stoves were encountered at many sites in the Philippines.

Mrs. Soejatmi Satari made further comments on the remains of earthenware. She thought that their presence would be significant since earthenware was manufactured before high-fired wares.

The report of Mr. Vidya Intakosai is in Appendix 4g.

PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Country Report, jointly prepared by the members of the delegation, was entitled "Prehistoric Maritime Trade in the Philippines".

Presented by Mr. Wilfredo P. Ronquillo, the report consists basically of a chronological research undertaken in the Philippines.

The first attempt at underwater archaeology was done in 1967 with the excavation of a Spanish galleon in Albay, about 500 kms. south of Manila.

A gap of 15 years passed with no underwater archaeological activities until in early 1982 with the excavation of a wreck site south of the island of Marinduque about 150 kms. south of Manila. Chinese porcelain and stoneware materials which date to the Ming Dynasty were recovered from this site.

In August 1983, another wrecksite was excavated, this time at Puerto Galera, Mindanao Island. Again, Chinese porcelain and stoneware materials were recovered from this wrecksite. Significant is the recovery of a fragment of wood with imbedded wooden pegs.

During the discussion that followed Dr. Pierre-Yves Manguin commented on the fragment of wood recovered at the Puerto Galera site which he examined.

Dr. Manguin explained a special feature of Southeast Asian boats. The recovery from the Puerto Galera site showed that the planks were joined together with locking pins which were square pegs which apply both for the dugout type and the outrigger canoe. This technique is reminiscent of Sulawesi ships which generally measure 7 m. x 3 m.

The question of how to conserve shipwrecks and other finds from the rivers and seas for historical and scientific study was brought up. Dr. Peralta read a letter by P. J. O. O'Keefe of the University of Sydney, Faculty of Law to Dr. Rosa C. P. Tenazas regarding their interest in the legal protection of the underwater cultural heritage and whether SPAFA would be interested in supporting a regional convention to deal with the problem of looting of wrecks and other underwater sites within the Southeast Asian region.

The Philippine Country Report is in Appendix 4d.

SESSION 4

Wednesday, November 21, 1984

Grand Park Hotel, Cisarua, Bogor

A. Country Report

INDONESIA

The Indonesian Country Report was presented by Mrs. Satyawati Suleiman and Mr. A. B. Lapian in Session 4, and Dr. Hasan M. Ambary in Session 5.

Mrs. Suleiman spoke on the "Maritime Routes in the Classical Period" supporting her contentions with evidence from different areas. Among those presented were the distribution of kettle drums all over Southeast Asia. Another was the introduction of slaves from Indonesia to China and India. Indian sculpture likewise finding its way to Indonesia as well as a script from South India in Sanskrit language.

Mrs. Suleiman stressed the need to further study the problems concerning the identification of toponyms from historical sources by using corroborative materials from archaeological finds such as ceramics from Batu Jaya studied by Mrs. Sumarah Adhyatman, those found in Kota Cina such as glass and other materials. She also noted the importance of studying local literature and traditions to see what data could be gathered from them as far as maritime trade is concerned. Piracy and slave trade, for example needs further investigation.

She also cited as evidence for the existence of maritime routes the documentation in ancient temple reliefs as in Borobudur. The appearance of ships in the reliefs suggested sea orientation. She dwelt on the struggle for hegemony as the struggle between Srivijaya and Java as shown by the fact that missions to China from Java and Srivijaya never overlapped. As an elaboration on this score it was noted that finds from West Indonesia were not the same as those in East Indonesia, an indication of a different trade pattern and trade alliances on these two sides of the Indonesian Archipelago. It appeared that the Strait of Malacca, Strait of Bangka and the Java seas were contested by several ruling parties through the ages.

During the discussions, Dr. Viviane Sukanda-Tessier remarked that the toponym Po-li was already mentioned in written Sundanese texts under several forms as Nusa Bali and Nusa Pali. She did not believe that it could be another island than Bali because in the Sundanese and also Javanese texts, Galuh or Pajajaran people are said to go to Nusa Bali towards the West, or came from Nusa Bali. In addition, since Banten is said to be a polite form of Bali (according to Damais) it would be worthwhile investigating the problem of identifying toponyms further.

The report of Mrs. Satyawati Suleiman is in Appendix 4a.

Mr. A. B. Lapien's paper was entitled "The Maritime Network in the Indonesian Archipelago in the 14th Century".

Mr. Lapien made the qualification that although the text he used, the Nagarakertagama is Java-centric and tended to look upon trade routes as leading from and to Java, nevertheless it was important to study this text since it gave an idea of why some areas and places are important to Majapahit. It is from this vantage point that he drew his inferences regarding the possible connections of certain places in Indonesia and the Malay archipelago mentioned in the text.

Dr. Anthony Reid made the point that perhaps in the case of Makassar, it may not be safe to give it a specific location. From the historical references, it appears that Makassar was used in the sense of being a place of the Bugis.

Mr. Lapien mentioned also that the text or the poet Prapanca did not distinguish between Champa, Syam and Camboja which are mentioned together. Mr. Lapien suggests that the sequence of tributary states by Prapanca were neither arbitrary nor most likely followed practical considerations of trade links, trade networks, alliances within each group of places which in turn were further linked up to region-wide or international trade. Most probably, ease of navigation and peaceful access may also have entered into these linkages. The paper lists at least 6 groups of inter-linked places which reflected the process of procurement and distribution of trade goods as well as trade alliances:

1. Sumatra group - which includes Jambi, Palembang, Banten, Lampung, etc.
2. Kalimantan group including Sarawak, Sulu, etc.
3. Malay Peninsula which covers Pahang, Selangor, Kedah, Riau-Lingga, etc.
4. Eastern route from Bali, Nusa Penida, eastward to Seran, etc.
5. Lombok, Mirah, Saksak, etc.
6. Makassar-Butun-Banggawi, etc.

Mr. Uka Tjandrasasmita gave further information that might help explain Prapanca's list of countries with whom Majapahit had relations. During his studies in 1964-66 on Candi Angin, he noted that the titles Raja Negara Dvipawa was similar to the titles used at Trowulan. He also mentioned that Luwa was Islamized earlier than Guwa, that the Chronicle of Samudra Pasai gave the account of Majapahit conquest and that captives were taken to Java but this event was not mentioned in Javanese sources, that the term Molukka referred both to Tidore and Ternate, that Ceram was a centre for slave trading, that in the chronicle of Makina, Palapa was mentioned as a place where Gadjah Mada was said to have worshipped, an event also found in the legend of Bacan.

The report of Mr. A. B. Lopian is in Appendix 4b.

SESSION 5

Thursday, November 22, 1984

Grand Park Hotel, Cisarua, Bogor

A. Country Report

INDONESIA (Cont'd)

The report by Dr. Hasan M. Ambary touched on Maritime trade commodities found in the archaeological sites of Indonesia. He pointed out that from earliest time boats and ships were important to Indonesian life. These are portrayed in cave paintings ferrying the spirit of the dead or performing other activities related to their daily life. It was used intensively for international travel and trade.

According to Dr. Hasan Ambary, kettledrums formed the major trade goods of the prehistoric period up to historic times. Kettledrums were found in West Java in Taraju; in Central Java in Weleri and in several sites in Eastern Java up to the Sunda Strait.